





# MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

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CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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“ Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

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JEFFERSON.

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## APOLOGY.

THE delay in the appearance of the July number of the Journal is to be accounted for by the absence of the regular Editor, and the consequent temporary transfer of his duties to other less punctual and efficient hands. The early return of Dr. Hall will prevent the necessity of making an apology similar to this in August, and give to our readers once more the benefit of his talent, energy and information.

## THE TRUTH, WELL TOLD.

There was published in the last number of the Journal, an article taken from the Christian Intelligencer, in reference to the cause of the difficulties that had taken place at Cape Palmas between the Missionaries and the Colonial authorities. The subject has been a sore one to the Maryland State Colonization Society; not because it hesitated for a single instant in the propriety of its course throughout in reference to the difficulties referred to by the writer, but because this course was made, most unjustly, a handle against the entire cause of Colonization. Now, it is well known, that the Colony at Cape Palmas is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Maryland State Colonization Society—that the old Society, the American Colonization Society, has no more to do with it, than it has to do with the government of Mehemet Ali on the same continent.—That it never has had any thing to do with it either in its establishment or its government. And therefore, to visit upon the American Colonization Society the alleged sins of the Maryland Society was unjust; and as our friends in Washington were, perhaps, troubled with the load thus thrust upon them, the State Society did all that it could do, which was to authorise the former to put the blame, if blame there was, upon the right parties. This, if we recollect aright, was done accordingly. The State Society regretted the difficulties in question, the more especially, because they threatened to disappoint expectations which had for years been cherished. But that is past. Entertaining as the Society did, however, a thorough conviction that it was right, in the course that it had been obliged to pursue, it was quite willing to leave it to time to bring about a correct understanding of the facts and the merits of the difficulty; and this, time has been gradually doing. Nothing, however,

has yet appeared so much to the point, dispensing as we conceive such equal justice as the article in reference to which we have been led to make these remarks. It gave us great pleasure to see that it had been published in the African Repository, from which, indeed, we copied it; and as we are more particularly, as Marylanders, interested in the colony at Cape Palmas, which has been heretofore harshly spoken of in connection with the difficulties with the Missionaries, we hope that the article in question may receive a general circulation through the press of the country.

In speaking in the terms which we use of the article signed "Crucible," we are reminded that we have to make the same acknowledgments to the writer of "Amicus," in this Journal, who vindicated Dr. McGill from the illiberal criticism of the Editor of the New England Puritan, who in publishing the Dr's. communication, did it with a running commentary in the shape of notes with references.

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### COMPARISONS.

The question was asked us the other day, whether the disturbances and confusion recently prevailing in Hayti, did not conclusively demonstrate the incapacity of the coloured race to take care of themselves, if left to themselves—and whether an evil augury might not be drawn from Hayti in regard to the future condition of the colonies on the Coast of Africa. We answered, promptly, no! and did space permit, we would now give our reasons for the denial. But we will delay doing this until our next number. We mention the subject in anticipation, lest, the same suggestion occurring to others, the augury may be drawn as a matter of course.

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### CAPE PALMAS, A NAVAL DEPOT.

In the *Intelligencer* of July 22d, there are two letters in regard to Cape Palmas, as a proper place for a depot for our African squadron. They will be noticed at length in our next number. We have, indeed, rather been *inclined* to think, that the Cape Verd Islands were just about as appropriate head quarters for a squadron having to watch the Coast of Africa from Cape Verd to Fernando Po, as Trenton, in New Jersey, would be a fit location for the superintendent of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Rail Road, instead of Wilmington, where he properly resides, midway of the work under his charge. But things may be different in Africa from what they are in other parts of the world. And we may have been inclined to think erroneously.

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### IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

We invite the attention of our readers to the following correspondence as to the position of the colonies in Liberia, politically, in regard to the United States. We think that the view taken by Mr. Upshur is the true one. We think that the manner in which he expressed it is dignified and statesmanlike; and we regret the deplorable accident on board the Princeton all

the more, because it has deprived Colonization of one who, high in station, wielding much influence, and a Southern man with Southern feelings, would have been able, had he lived, to have done great good to the cause which he so thoroughly appreciated. We are glad to see that Lord Aberdeen has taken the ground which he occupies in relation to the subject, and we trust that the officers of the British navy on the coast of Africa will carry out the instructions which they have received in the spirit in which they have been given.

Colonization has not always been so highly esteemed, that its friends and advocates have escaped the charge of being mere enthusiasts—well meaning indeed,—but mere enthusiasts still. We have often been where we felt that politeness alone restrained a sneer when we spoke of the subject of Colonization; and at length we made up our mind that if it was a good thing, it would be found out to be so without any argumentation of ours, and that therefore it was useless to bore even our best friends with the discussion of it. We have been glad to think, within a year or two past, that it has been gaining ground in public estimation. It has certainly become of some more importance than it used to be; and we are rejoiced that in the correspondence between the distinguished statesmen which we publish in this number of the Journal, justice has been done to it. We really begin to entertain some hope that Colonization will one day be considered, generally, as a scheme of some practical value, and receive from the public, for whose welfare it has been organized, and upon whom it depends for success, a generous and liberal support.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, March 7, 1844.*

The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 26th ultimo, requesting the President "to communicate to Congress [if not inconsistent, in his opinion, with the public interest] the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the United States minister at London, and between the two Governments of the United States and England, relative to the Colony of Liberia, in Africa," has the honour to report to the President copies of the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

Respectfully submitted:

JNO. NELSON.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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*Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, January 5, 1843.*

SIR: I transmit to you, herewith, two letters addressed to this department, on the 10th of March and 22nd of December last, by officers of the American Colonization Society, together with the accompanying copies of correspondence, therein referred to, between the authorities of Liberia, and certain British naval officers on the coast of Africa, relative to difficulties which have arisen from an interference by a few British traders, &c., with the rights of the colony; and showing that other and still more serious difficulties are apprehended.

In accordance with the wishes of the executive committee of the American Colonization Society, I take leave to commend the object of their application to your favourable attention; and to beg that you will take an early occasion to make an informal representation of their complaints, in conversation with Lord Aberdeen.



I suggest that an inquiry may be instituted into the facts alleged, and that measures may be adopted for the prevention, in future, of any infraction of the rights of these colonists, or any improper interference on the part of Her Majesty's subjects on the coast of Africa, with the interests of the colonial settlement of Liberia.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

EDWARD EVERETT, ESQ. &c. &c. &c.

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*Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, March 24, 1843.

SIR: I send you, in addition to the papers transmitted with my letter of the 5th of January last, several notes recently addressed to me by the secretary of the American Colonization Society, together with the printed documents, &c., accompanying them.

Mr. Gurley's first communication is dated on the 13th, and the other two on the 16th inst. Taken in connection with those previously forwarded to the legation, they show that the wishes of the colonists, in regard to the territorial extent of their settlements, are quite reasonable—the settlements extending southeasterly from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles only; and these notes, too, explain the nature of the relations existing between Liberia and the United States. Founded principally with a view to the melioration of the condition of an interesting portion of the great human family, this colony has conciliated more and more the good-will, and has, from time to time, received the aid and support of this Government. Without having passed any laws for their regulation, the American Government takes a deep interest in the welfare of the people of Liberia, and is disposed to extend to them a just degree of countenance and protection.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

EDWARD EVERETT, ESQ. &c. &c. &c.

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*Mr. Everett to Mr. Upshur.*

[EXTRACTS]

LONDON, November 1, 1843.

SIR: Just as the parcel of despatches by the steamer of the 19th of October was closing, the letters from America, by the "Caledonia" (the steamer of October 1st) arrived in London. I now beg to acknowledge the receipt, by that vessel, of your despatch No. 60, enclosing a copy of a note to Mr. Fox on the subject of Liberia, and of despatch No. 61, &c.

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On the subject of Liberia, I received two communications from Mr. Webster; of which the first, of the 5th of January, was not numbered as a despatch, nor intended, I suppose, to be considered as wholly official; the second was despatch No. 35, of the 2nd of April. I have from time to time, in conversations both with Lord Aberdeen and Lord Stanley, invoked their good offices for the colonists, and deprecated the unkind treatment they appeared to me to have received on some occasions, not only from British traders, but from the cruisers of this nation on the coast of Africa. It has been my purpose, at the earliest moment at which I could prepare it, to address a written communication to Lord Aberdeen on the subject of the complaints of the colonists: but it has hitherto been out of my power.

Meantime, I am happy to find, in the very lucid statement contained in your letter to Mr. Fox of the 25th, on the subject of the relations of the colony to the United States, and in your persuasive appeal to the Government of this country for their favourable regard towards the colonists, an anticipation of all that I could possibly have urged on the topics treated by you.

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*Mr. Everett to Mr. Upshur.*

[EXTRACT.]

LONDON, December 30, 1843.

SIR: In my despatch No. 60, I alluded to the instructions which I had received from the late Secretary of State, on the subject of the complaints of the settlers in Liberia against British cruisers and traders. Although I had, in the course of the past year, had some conversations on these subjects with Lord Aberdeen and Stanly, I had experienced a difficulty in preparing a statement in writing in reference to the alleged grievances of the Liberians, in consequence of not being distinctly informed as to the views of the Executive on the general subject of the relations of that settlement to the government of the United States. Your note to Mr. Fox of the 25th of September last having wholly removed this difficulty, I felt it my duty, under the former instructions of this department, to bring the subject of the conduct of the British traders and cruisers on the African coast to the notice of this Government, which I have done in a note to Lord Aberdeen, bearing date this day, of which a copy accompanies this despatch. \* \* \* \* \*

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

EDWARD EVERETT.

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[ENCLOSURE.]

GROSVENOR PLACE, December 30, 1843.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has been directed by his Government to make a representation to the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of some discussions which have arisen between the authorities of the settlement of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and Her Majesty's cruising officers on that station. Copies of a correspondence between Captain Denman, of Her Majesty's sloop "Wanderer," and Mr. Roberts, the Governor of Liberia, in the month of October, 1841; between Lieutenant Seagram, of the "Termagant," on the one side, and the resident agent of the Liberian Government at Bassa Cove, and Mr. Roberts, the Governor of Liberia, in March, 1842, on the other side; and between the commander J. Oake, senior officer on the Sierra Leone station, and the same Liberian authorities, in the month of July, 1842, have been forwarded to the undersigned by the Secretary of State. The undersigned forbears to transmit copies of this correspondence to the Earl of Aberdeen, under the impression that it has been already laid before Her Majesty's Government, in the despatches of the officers cruising on the African station. Extracts of a letter of the 16th December, 1841, from the Governor of Liberia to the secretary of the American Colonization Society, [the institution under whose auspices Liberia was settled,] and of the reply of the executive committee of that society, are herewith transmitted for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

Lord Aberdeen will recollect that the difficulties which have arisen between the Government of Liberia and the British cruising officers and

British traders on the coast of Africa, were referred to in conversation more than once, between his lordship and the undersigned, in the course of the past year. On those occasions, the precise relations between the Government of the United States and Liberia formed a subject of inquiry on the part of the Earl of Aberdeen. All desirable information on that point has, the undersigned believes, lately reached Lord Aberdeen, in a note of 25th September last, addressed by Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State of the United States, to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington; and the undersigned deems it unnecessary to dwell on the subject.

The history of the Liberian settlement, as contained in Mr. Upshur's note, will sufficiently account for the interest felt by the American Government in its prosperity. It was founded by a peculiarly interesting class of emigrants from the United States; it affords a convenient means of making a proper disposition of slaves captured by American cruisers, and of persons of African descent desirous of returning from the United States to the land of their fathers; and it has ever been regarded as a powerful auxiliary in the promotion of objects which the Government and people of America have greatly at heart—the entire suppression of the slave-trade, and the civilization of the African continent.

That an independent settlement of persons of African descent, owing its origin to the impulse of christian benevolence, and still controlled by the same benign influence, should be peculiarly fitted, in some respects, to accomplish these objects of its establishment, is obvious in itself. The testimony of several respectable officers of the British navy might be adduced in proof of this fact, that something valuable has been already effected towards these great ends, under the laws or influence of its settlement.

The policy of the United States in reference to extra-continental possessions, has not allowed them, had it been otherwise deemed expedient, to extend that kind of protection to the Liberian settlement, to which colonies are entitled from the mother country by which they are established. It has, in consequence, been compelled to rely on its intrinsic right to the common protection and favour of all civilized nations; and thus far, for the most part, without being disappointed.

The undersigned forbears to enter much at large into the particular matters discussed between the Liberian authorities and the British cruising officers. The right of the Liberian Government to maintain their jurisdiction over Bassa Cove and the dependent territory, forms the most important of them; and the denial of that right by several British officers is the most serious difficulty, of a political nature, which the Liberian settlement has had to encounter. If the principle assumed by these officers should be sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government—namely, that the Liberian settlement can, by treaty with the native chiefs, acquire no jurisdiction over territory on any part of the Coast of Africa where an individual has previously established a factory or traded with the natives—it will become impossible for the settlement to make any further addition to its domain, or, in fact, to maintain itself in its oldest establishments.

This principle, it would seem, can rest on no other foundation than that the settlement of Liberia is a private enterprise, like that of an individual trader, and entitled to none of the rights of a political community. The auspices under which it was founded, the countenance it has received from the Government of the United States, the public objects of the settlement, and the singularly meritorious nature of the enterprise, will, the undersigned trusts, prevent Her Majesty's Government from giving its sanction to this principle—a principle which seems to deny to the civilized and christian settlement of Liberia those public rights which would be recognized as belonging to the barbarous native hordes of the African continent.



The undersigned rather hopes that Her Majesty's Government, from the interest which he is sure will be felt in the prosperity of such a settlement, will be able to extend its decided countenance to an infant community possessing so many claims to the sympathy of all christian powers. The undersigned greatly fears that, if the right of this settlement to act as an independent political community, and, as such, so enforce the laws necessary to its existence and prosperity, be denied by Her Majesty's Government, and if the naval power of Great Britain be employed in protecting individual traders in the violation of those laws, the effect will be to aim a fatal blow at its very existence; to invite the assaults of slave traders and the aggressions of other powers; and to destroy the wholesome influence of Liberia over the natives. These are evils too great, in the estimation of the undersigned, to be willingly caused by Her Majesty's Government, on any grounds set forth in the correspondence above alluded to.

Lord Aberdeen will also observe, that the fact that there was any contract on the part of private traders prior to the cession of Bassa Cove to the Liberian Government, is denied by Governor Roberts in his letter to the American Colonization Society. But the undersigned cannot think that the substantiation of this fact will be deemed of great importance by Her Majesty's Government.

If the undersigned is in an error in supposing that the correspondence alluded to in the beginning of this note is already in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, copies of it will be immediately furnished to Lord Aberdeen, on his expressing a wish to that effect.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Lord Aberdeen the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

EDWARD EVERETT.

The EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c. &c.

*Mr. Everett to Mr. Upshur.*

[EXTRACT.]

LONDON, February 3, 1844.

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I received last evening, from Lord Aberdeen, a formal reply to my note of December 30th; which I herewith transmit. It contains the substance of the instructions to the British cruisers on the Coast of Africa, in reference to the Liberian settlements.

*Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Everett.*

[ENCLOSURE.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, January 31, 1844.

The undersigned, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of Mr. Everett, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, dated the 30th ultimo, calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to some discussions which have arisen between the authorities of the settlement of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, and the officers of Her Majesty's cruisers on that station. The undersigned had previously received from Mr. Fox the note from Mr. Upshur to that minister, which is referred to by Mr. Everett, and which explained the nature and objects of the settlement of Liberia—a subject upon which Her Majesty's Government had sought information from that of the United States.

The undersigned begs to assure Mr. Everett that Her Majesty's Government highly appreciates the motives which have induced the American

Colonization Society to found the settlement of Liberia; nor do they doubt that the growth of that settlement may, under judicious guidance, powerfully contribute to promote the object for which it was established; and the undersigned conceives that he cannot better reply to the representation which Mr. Everett has now been directed to make upon this subject, than by informing him, without reserve, of the tenor of the instructions which have been given to Her Majesty's naval commanders for their guidance in their communications with the Liberian settlers.

These instructions, which have been issued subsequently to the date of the discussions with the authorities of Liberia, to which Mr. Everett refers, enjoin Her Majesty's naval commanders, whose duty it is to extend a general protection to British trade on the western coast of Africa, to avoid involving themselves in contentions with the local authorities of the Liberian settlements upon points of uncertain legality. In places to the possession of which British settlers have a legal title, by formal purchase or cession from the rightful owners of the soil, no foreign authority has, of course, any right to interfere. But, in other places, in which no such ostensible right of property exists, great caution is recommended to be observed in the degree of protection granted to British residents, lest, in maintaining the supposed rights of those residents, the equal or superior rights of others should be violated; and at the same time that Her Majesty's naval commanders afford efficient protection to British trade against improper assumption of power on the part of the Liberian authorities, they are instructed and enjoined to cultivate a good understanding with the inhabitants of that settlement, and to foster, by friendly treatment of them, such a feeling as may lead the settlers themselves voluntarily to redress whatever grievances may have been the subject of complaint against them.

The undersigned requests Mr. Everett to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

ABERDEEN.

EDWARD EVERETT, ESQ., &c. &c. &c.

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*Mr. Fox to Mr. Upshur.*

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1843.

SIR: I had recently the honour to state to you, verbally, that Her Majesty's Government have, for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining, authentically, the nature and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia, on the Coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States.

Certain differences which have arisen, and which, I believe, are still pending, between British subjects trading with Africa on the one hand, and the authorities of Liberia on the other, render it very necessary, in order to avert for the future serious trouble and contention in that quarter, that Her Majesty's Government should be accurately informed what degree of official patronage and protection, if any, the United States Government extend to the colony of Liberia; how far, if at all, the United States Government recognize the colony of Liberia as a national establishment; and, consequently, how far, if at all, the United States Government hold themselves responsible towards foreign countries for the acts of the authorities of Liberia.

It is also very desirable, if the United States Government recognize and protect the colony of Liberia, that Her Majesty's Government should be authentically informed what are considered to be the territorial limits of the colony; and also, by what title the amount of territory so claimed has been acquired. For it appears that (during the last year, in particular) the au-

thorities of Liberia have shown a disposition to enlarge very considerably the limits of their territory; assuming, to all appearance quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free; and thus injuriously interfering with the commercial interests and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter.

It is not for a moment supposed that the United States Government would, either directly or indirectly, sanction such proceedings; but, in case of its becoming necessary to stop the further progress of such proceedings and such pretensions, it is very desirable, in order, as before mentioned, to avert causes of future dispute and contention, that Her Majesty's Government should be informed whether the authorities of Liberia are themselves alone responsible on the spot for their public acts; or whether, if they are under the protection and control of the United States Government, it is to that Government that application must be made when the occasions above alluded to may require it.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

H. S. Fox.

Hon. ABEL P. UPSHUR, &c. &c.

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*Mr. Uphsur to Mr. Fox.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, September 25, 1843.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th of August last, informing me that Her Majesty's Government have, for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining authentically the nature and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States, and requesting me to give you the desired information.

The colony, or settlement, of Liberia was established by a voluntary association of American citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society. Its objects were, to introduce christianity and promote civilization in Africa; to relieve the slave-holding States from the inconvenience of an increase of free blacks among them; to improve the condition and elevate the character of those blacks themselves, and to present to the slave-holder an inducement to emancipate his slaves, by offering to them an asylum in the country of their ancestors, in which they would enjoy political and social equality. It was not, however, established under the authority of our Government, nor has it been recognized as subject to our laws and jurisdiction.

It is believed that the society has confined itself strictly to the professed objects of its association. As an individual enterprise, it has no precedent in the history of the world. The motives which led to it were not those of trade, nor of conquest; the individuals concerned in it promised themselves no personal advantage nor benefit whatever. Their motives were purely philanthropic, and their objects strictly disinterested. In spite of the unexampled difficulties with which they have had to contend, they have by patience and perseverance, succeeded in placing their colony upon a safe and prosperous footing. It is just beginning to exert, in a sensible degree, its beneficent influences upon the destinies of the African race; and promises, if it be duly sustained, to do much for the regeneration of that quarter of the globe. Hence it has received, as it richly deserves, the respect and sympathy of the whole civilized world. To the United States it is an object of peculiar interest. It was established by our people, and has gone on under the countenance and good offices of our Government. It is identified with the success of a great object, which has enlisted the feelings, and called into ac-



tion the enlarged benevolence, of a large proportion of our people. It is natural, therefore, that we should regard it with greater sympathy and solicitude than would attach to it under other circumstances.

This society was first projected in the year 1816. In 1831 it possessed itself of a territory upon the continent of Africa, by fair purchase of the owners of the soil. For several years it was compelled to defend itself by arms, and unaided, against the native tribes; and succeeded in sustaining itself, only at a melancholy sacrifice of comfort, and a lamentable loss of human lives. No nation has ever complained that it has acquired territory in Africa; but, on the contrary, for twenty-two years it has been allowed, with the full knowledge of *all* nations, to enlarge its borders from time to time, as its safety or its necessities required. It has been regarded as a purely benevolent enterprise, and, with a view to its success, has been tacitly permitted to exercise all the powers of an independent community. It is believed that this license has never been abused, and that the colony has advanced no claims which ought not to be allowed to an infant settlement just struggling into a healthy existence. Its object and motives entitle it to the respect of the stronger powers, and its very weakness gives it irresistible claims to their forbearance. Indeed, it may justly appeal to the kindness and support of all the principal nations of the world, since it has already afforded and still continues to afford, the most important aid in carrying out a favorite measure of their policy.

It is not perceived that any nation can have just reason to complain that this settlement does not confine itself to the limits of its original territory. Its very existence requires that it should extend those limits. Heretofore, this has never been done by arms, so far as I am informed, but always by fair purchase from the natives. In like manner, their treaties with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise, ought to be respected. It is quite certain that their influence in civilizing and christianizing Africa, in suppressing the slave-trade, and in ameliorating the condition of African slaves, will be worth very little, if they should be restrained at this time in any one of these particulars. Full justice, it is hoped, may be done to England, without denying to Liberia powers so necessary to the safety, the prosperity, and the utility of that settlement as a philanthropic establishment.

This Government does not, of course, undertake to settle and adjust differences which have arisen between British subjects and the authorities of Liberia. Those authorities are responsible for their own acts; and they certainly would not expect the support or countenance of this Government in any act of injustice towards individuals or nations. But, as they are themselves nearly powerless, they must rely, for the protection of their own rights, on the justice and sympathy of others powers.

Although no apprehension is entertained that the British Government meditates any wrong to this interesting settlement, yet the occasion is deemed a fit one for making known, beyond a simple answer to your inquiries, in what light it is regarded by the Government and people of the United States. It is due to Her Majesty's Government that I should inform you that this Government regards it as occupying a peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly consideration of all christian powers; that this Government will be, at all times, prepared to interpose its good offices to prevent any incroachment by the colony upon any just right of any nation, and that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement.

I pray you to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

A. P. UPSHUR.

HENRY S. FOX, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

IS COLONIZATION, A *PRACTICAL* PLAN.

The merit of being *practical* is of course a great merit. A "practical" man is looked upon by many as a great man necessarily. Some, indeed, go so far as to give more credit to the carpenter who planes the boards, than to the man of science, the architect, who designs the edifice, because they consider the former a *practical* person. Well, to a great extent this is right, and we agree that its *practical* merit must be the test of Colonization.—As we wish to be brief, we will put what we have to say on this subject into the form of question and answer.

*Mr. Smith.*—Well! Mr. Jones, is Colonization a practical scheme?

*Mr. Jones.*—Well! why not, Mr. Smith?

*Mr. Smith.*—Why, all the navy of the Union and its merchant service to boot, and all the contributions you could get by all the agents that could be appointed would not furnish the ways and means to remove the *increase* of the coloured population, let alone the whole number. Would they?

*Mr. Jones.*—You state your proposition confidently, and then ask me if it is correct. Let me ask you a few questions by way of answer; and first, what is the whole increase of the coloured population?

*Mr. Smith.*—Why, I don't know exactly, but perhaps some 80,000 per annum.

*Mr. Jones.*—Well, that's near enough. Now, how many emigrants from foreign countries come to the United States and Canada and the British Islands, annually?

*Mr. Smith.*—Really I cannot say—though I have heard that the number varied between 2 and 300,000.

*Mr. Jones.*—Quite near enough. And how do these people get here.—Do they come in the *national* vessels of their respective countries?

*Mr. Smith.*—Certainly not, and that is just what puzzles me. They come here some-how, and then they disappear. The country absorbs them. They go to the West I presume.

*Mr. Jones.*—Not exactly.—A good many of them stay upon the seaboard, where they elbow out of employment the free coloured people and hired slaves, as witness the Point in Baltimore and the coal yards. But though this is an important fact, it is out of the way of our present catechism. The people come here, and to the extent you mention, there is no doubt of that. Now what motive induces them to come here?

*Mr. Smith.*—A desire to better their condition I presume.

*Mr. Jones.*—Just so, as we say in New England. Just so—and who pays their expenses?

*Mr. Smith.*—Why I presume they pay their own expenses for the most part; though it is said that some are paupers sent out by their parishes.

*Mr. Jones.*—Yes, so it is said, and there have been instances of that kind. But in general they pay their own expenses.

*Mr. Smith.*—I believe they do.

*Mr. Jones.*—Then we have these facts:—that the emigration annually to this continent is equal to about three times the increase of the coloured population:—that this emigration is at the expense of the emigrant him-



self:—that he comes here in the traders that ply between the Old and the New World;—and that he comes here to better his condition. Am I not right?

*Mr. Smith.*—Yes, and I think I see what you are coming to. You mean to say, that the coloured man in the United States has more reason to be dissatisfied with his position, than the Irishman or German has to be with his position in Europe—and that it would be bettered, as much, in the one case, by removal to Africa, as it is, in the other, by removal to America.—But then, how can you get up a trade such as exists between the United States and Europe—how can you have as many ships to pass to and fro—how can you get up governments and communities in Africa which shall attract the coloured man?

*Mr. Jones.*—That is exactly what we propose to do by Colonization. To this end individual contributions have already, small as they have been, done wonders. There are already thriving communities planted by the colonizationists on the coast of Africa, capable of self defence and self support. The trade between the two countries has already increased so much that a squadron is stationed there, whose purpose, in part, is to protect it.—These colonies are growing steadily.—Their trade is yearly increasing.—Colonization is the main agent in these results: and the time is coming when the coloured people will seek Africa at the same rate that the whites seek America—and will, as the whites do, pay their own passage—will be provided for in Africa as the whites are in the United States—and when the question will be, not who shall remain, but who shall have the privilege of going. All this is within reasonable bounds of expectation, and therefore we consider Colonization a *practical* scheme.

*Mr. Smith.*—Well! there may be something in it after all.

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#### FROM A COLOURED CORRESPONDENT.

I ask the use of your Journal to address a few remarks to the friends of my colour in the Eastern States who are opposed to Colonization in Africa, for after all that has been said and written, I am at a loss to understand the ground of their opposition. Those who advocate our freedom, must concede to us the rights of freedom, and what is freedom but the right of choice. I have much difficulty in understanding how our friends, as such, can attempt to withhold this boon from us. Such of us as choose to emigrate to Africa, do so from the motive that influences all men in their movements, an increase of comforts and happiness. Such of us as have lived in Africa, know that these blessings are attainable there. None are forced to go. It is a voluntary act. Why should our friends oppose us? I am unable to account for it in but one way, that is, their belief that we are incompetent to self government; that we have not the capacity to sustain a community or nation, and that we must remain among the whites in a state of surveillance or partial freedom, for an indefinite time. If we are not capable of judging for ourselves and governing ourselves we are not fit to be free. If there ever was any ground for this belief it is now falsified; twenty years experience has developed qualities and character fully equal to the task. We would not descend to a comparison with some of the new settlements in the States as to morality and order. The Bowie knife and Lynch

law are unknown in the American colonies in Africa. If it is the desire of our Eastern friends to benefit us they will at once gratify their desire and essentially serve us by aiding our colonies. I therefore respectfully and earnestly request them to re-consider the case and to demonstrate their friendship for us by sustaining us in the ascending course in which Colonization has placed us.

LOTT CAREY.

(From the Baltimore Clipper.)

### COLORED POPULATION.

It is beyond question that the ill-judged interference of the abolitionists of the north with southern institutions has had the direct effect of restraining emancipation, and of thus injuring the cause of colonization. The southern states have been driven into the adoption of measures of a rigid character in regard to the colored population, bond and free. We have heretofore stated, that in Maryland, until the abolition excitement, a general disposition existed to emancipate the slaves, and to transport them to Africa—and that Maryland was not a slave state from choice but necessity. These positions are sustained by the policy of our state legislation. In 1825 or 1826, one thousand dollars per annum were appropriated to colonization purposes, as the commencement of a system which it was supposed would, in time, remove the greater portion, if not all, of the colored people from the state. Subsequently the state colonization society was established, and the annual appropriation greatly increased. All seemed to be working well for the cause of humanity, until the imprudence of the abolitionists produced a revulsion of feeling. But the state society still perseveres in its laudable labors, and is making considerable progress, whilst the legislature continues to foster the enterprise by bestowing its usual annual donation of \$10,000. What we have heretofore stated on this subject is corroborated by the following statistical information, which is copied from the Frederick Herald:

"Up to the recent change in our laws, in no state had emancipation progressed so rapidly as in Maryland, and, at present, in no state are there so large a number of free negroes. But since the year '31 the legal policy of the State has been to check emancipation, and also to lessen the free colored population by prohibiting emigration into the state.

"According to the census of '40 the number of whites in our state were, 316,544—free colored 61,837—slaves 89,736. Total, 468,117. The proportion of free colored population has always been upon the increase up to the present time, whilst the slave population arrived at its maximum or greatest extent in 1810, after which it began to decline. Thus, in 1790 it was about 103,000—in 1810 it was 111,527—in 1840 it was 89,736.

"In 1830 more than one third of the colored population of the State were free, and in 1840 the proportion of free colored to the slaves was as 61 to 89—approximating one half. The slaves in the State have diminished within the last ten years at the rate of twelve and a half per cent.

"In 1790 there were about two white men to every colored one, and in 1840 the proportion had slightly increased in favour of the whites.

"The increase of free colored persons has been, within the last thirty years, at the rate of 900 per year—yet the entire colored population of the State has diminished at the rate of about two per cent; and during the same time, the white population has increased eight and three quarters per cent.

"Thus it will be observed that while the white population is increasing, the free colored is also increasing 900 per annum. What is to be the consequence?—is it desirable to have a mixed free population in our State?

The high Southern prices will drain it of slaves, and what then is to be done in regard to the colored *freemen*? Are we to accord to them all the rights and privileges of whites?—are they to remain an oppressed and despised race, deprived of all countenance—or are we to rid the State of them by restoring them to liberty through the agency of colonization?

“Our State, although crippled in its pecuniary resources, and although considerable effort has been made to prevent it, continues to appropriate \$10,000 annually to extend the benefits of Colonization. A considerable amount is also acquired for the same purpose from the liberal contributions of private citizens, and the Maryland Colonization Society have succeeded in planting a flourishing colony at Cape Palmas, on the Western Coast of Africa. The Colony consists of some 3 or 400 persons, and affords a foundation to a more extensive system of Colonization than has ever heretofore been attempted, and which, we hope, will one day entirely rid our State of a colored population and enroll her with her sister States north of Mason & Dixon’s line.”

If the abolitionists are influenced by humane considerations alone, they will discover from the above statement, that the course they have adopted is much more injurious than beneficial to the objects of their solicitude; and that their best policy is to leave the Southern States to the management of their own concerns. Their interference produced a bill some years since in the Maryland Legislature, which, had it become a law, would have driven every free colored person from the State, or placed them in a worse condition than that of slavery. All that we ask is, to be let alone; and we trust that the abolitionists will have the good sense to desist from measures which have the opposite effect to that intended.

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We publish below an extract from the proceedings of a meeting of the Massachusetts State Colonization Society, and regret that our space does not permit us to give the article at length. The statements of Gov. Roberts are of much interest, and we commend them to the notice of our readers, especially our coloured readers. Gov. Roberts is himself a man of colour, at the head of a free people, vindicating, by the intelligence, tact, and judgment of his course, the oft-disputed ability of his race to govern themselves in civilized communities. What would Gov. Roberts have been had he remained in America? The head waiter at some great City Hotel—the head barber of some principal alley—the head boot-black of some very roomy cellar—the head steward of a steamboat—a very prominent drayman, perhaps—or a fashionable hack-driver. These being the range pretty much of the better callings of the free coloured people of this country—with few, and but *very* few, exceptions.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Society held its annual meeting on Wednesday afternoon, in the Central church, the Rev. GEO. W. BLAGDEN in the chair, in the absence of the President of the Society, Hon. WM. B. BANNISTER, of Newburyport. A fervent and most appropriate prayer was made by the Rev. DR. HUMPHREY, President of Amherst College in this State. The annual report was read by the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. JOSEPH TRACEY, from whose report we learn that the Society still meets with discouragements, difficulties and obstructions in the way of its progress. The facilities for communication



with the public have been diminished the past year, through the transfer of the Boston Recorder to new hands—its present proprietors deeming it inconsistent with their proposed course in relation to slavery, to publish colonization information. Attempts to muzzle the press, both secular and religious, have been made, and with some degree of success. Editors have been repeatedly threatened with a loss of subscribers if they admitted into the columns of their papers information bearing upon the subject of colonization. The case of an associate editor of a paper who was bribed to publish an article derogatory to the cause and best interest of colonization was mentioned; when the fact came to the knowledge of the editor he lost his situation. The agents of the Society, from one cause and another, have been unable to fulfil their engagements—and no one, during the latter part of the year, has been engaged to visit the towns in the State to promote the objects of colonization. The Rev. Mr. PHELPS was obliged to discontinue his service in the early part of the year in one week after commencing them, owing to the state of his health. Yet notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Society has made considerable progress.

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The Rev. Dr. CARROLL, of New York, then submitted the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the cause of African Colonization originated in a spirit, and is founded on great principles, which will ensure stability and ultimate triumph, and that all the recent facts in its history tend to confirm this opinion.

This resolution the reverend gentleman supported in one of the ablest and most forcible speeches we ever listened to. It was delivered in eloquent and glowing language, and completely enchained the attention of the large audience present. We regret that our limits forbid our reporting it at length. The resolution was adopted.

After Dr. Carroll had taken his seat, the Rev. R. R. Gurley made a few remarks, and then introduced to the assembly Gov. Roberts of Liberia. This gentleman is a mulatto, with a highly intelligent countenance, and expressive eye, betokening him a man of talent, upon which the responsibilities of the Government of the colony may be safely devolved. He emigrated to Liberia from the vicinity of Petersburg, Va., when a boy, and received his education there, and may be considered of colony culture and growth. As such his appearance and remarks spoke well for Liberia. We shall give such of Gov. Roberts' remarks as we think will prove interesting to our readers, but they will form no immediate connection one with the other, as much of the information was elicited through the medium of questions, individuals of the audience asking such questions as they deemed proper.

The Governor thanked the society for sending him to Liberia, and said ninety-nine hundredths would do the same. The establishment of the colony of Liberia had broken up the slave-trade along 100 miles of sea-coast. Where Monrovia now stands, was formerly a great slave mart, and an old woman, a chief, residing only six miles from the town, had never visited it as it had ruined her business. The only difficulties with the natives arise from the opposition of the colonists to the slave trade. They wish to purchase about 130 miles of coast to break up other slave factories within their limits. There are in the colony, primary schools, and schools of a higher order, but they are not conducted so well as they should be, from a want of competent teachers. Colony governed on much the same principles as the United States. Governor appointed by the Colonization Society, all subordinate officers by the Legislative Council elected by the people. There are four Courts—a Court of Quarter Sessions for civil cases, a Superior

Court for criminal cases, a Supreme Court, and a Justice's Court. The influence of the colony on Christianity is very great. Commerce of the colony is improving. The Governor read from the collector's return of the port of Monrovia alone—there are *four* ports in Liberia. Imports for *one quarter*, ending 21st March last, \$16,000. Exports for the same time, \$13,058 87. British struggling to get a foot-hold in the colony to secure trade; more especially of that part of the coast which the colony wishes to purchase, about 130 miles, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; estimated expense of purchase, \$20,000. Coast extends back from 20 to 40 miles; camwood and palm oil very abundant. The Governor thought the population would engage extensively in business if capital was easily obtained. The suppression of the slave-trade increased the business of the colony, as the natives were obliged to turn their attention to other modes of living than by the capture of persons to be sold as slaves. Monrovia contains about 50 stone-buildings, 200 wooden buildings, and as many native buildings of bamboo. It has three churches, a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist. The Methodist is built of stone, 60 by 40 feet; the Baptist is 40 feet square; the Presbyterian, 40 by 30 feet. The Presbyterian Church has between 40 and 50 members, the Methodist upwards of 200, the Baptist about the same number. Monrovia has 8 vessels, Bassa 2, Greenville 1, built in the colony. There are others owned in the colony, built abroad. The trade extends along about 650 miles of coast.

The Governor did not think five persons who had been there a year would return: he would not; could live better, easier and cheaper there, than in the United States. An agent visited Liberia from Jamaica, to induce emigrants to go there. After a long stay, he could induce only eight to go. British officers had said to the colonists, the United States do nothing for you—come under British protection, and you will get all you want. No, say the colonists, we wish not British laws; we would remain as we are. There are but two places in Monrovia, where ardent spirits are sold—*none sold on Sunday*. Only one person in jail when the Governor left. To be qualified as a voter, a person must reside two years in the colony, be of good moral character, and adopt American dress and speak the English language. Sabbath is most religiously observed. Many of the productions of the colony grow spontaneously; few articles require cultivation, and they but little. Thirty bushels of ginger have been raised on one acre of ground. Mahometans are sending missionaries to the tribes in the vicinity of the colony, to counteract the influence of the colonial ministers. The Mahometans are induced to do this, because the tribes are disposed to give up their idol worship. There are only *six whites* in Liberia proper.

After the Governor took his seat, the Rev. Mr. Eddy of New Jersey, proposed the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the statements of Governor Roberts, respecting the colony of Liberia, are honourable to the cause of colonization, and encourage its friends to renewed efforts in its behalf.

After the public exercises closed, there was an election of officers for the ensuing year.

#### FOURTH OF JULY COLLECTIONS FOR 1844.

July 8th,	Received from	Rev. Mr. Peterkin, Frederick, Md.	\$16 20
" 19th,	"	" Rev. Dr. Wyatt, Baltimore, Md.	59 65
" 25th,	"	" Rev. H. Slicer, Baltimore, Md.	17 85

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\$123 70





